16: Müller--229 [7] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361, 592, 619, 643

The aborigines of Formosa are a settled people and live in communities. The Atai-yal tribe is organized on the basis of nuclear families, the Vonum, Tso'o, Pyuma, and Amis tribes on the basis of composite families. Each tribe has a chief as its head. There are some tribes and federations of tribes which have two head chiefs.

19: Guérin and Bernard--563 [2] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines 116, 592

The head of the family has absolute authority over his household, but he soon shares this with his eldest son, who will be his successor eventually.

21: Asai--1 [3] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 592

"There are two types of family system: family unit system—that is small family system; and big family system."

21: Asai--1 [4] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 592, 596 Bunun

"The big family system is found in the Bunun tribe. There is one big house (long house) similar to Borneo in which live the extended family. This includes couples of different generations, as well as several small families of equal generation. In each long house there are several compartments for each small family. The cooking and labor are in common. Descent in these families is patrilineal."

21: Asai--2 [3] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 591, 592 Ami

"The Ami tribe has a matriarchal system. The female owns the property and the house and inheritance is through her. The husband comes from another house. The keys of the granary are kept by the women."

21: Asai--2 [4] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 592

"Generally, in the other tribes [MC: other than the Ami] we find a patriarchal system, and this principle is especially strong in the north among the Atayal and Bunun. The Paiwan and Puyuma in the south have both."

22: Wiedfeldt--17 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 592, 423 Atayal

Since every Atayal family can count on only the labor which its own members supply, and the produce of the fields must furnish them their food, the families have tracts of land which are pretty much the same size. Out of a total of twenty families, only two particularly large families, between which a wedding was about to take place, had 1/5 more land than the usual area of 60 to 70 are. [MC: an are 0.02471 acre]

22: Wiedfeldt--34-35 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 462, 592 Atayal

Men and women never work together. Each has his or her special occupation in the household... They do not have the division of labor which is common among us today, according to which the man is active outside the house as a producer, and inside the house as a consumer, while the woman occupies herself only with the affairs of the household, but is not engaged in productive economic activity for the benefit of the household. Among the Atayals both parties have their special activities in the household, without which neither the household nor their entire existence would be possible. The man provides protection against the enemy and the weather; he makes the land fit for cultivation, makes weapons and wicker-work. [35] The woman plants and harvests, spins, and weaves the clothes, prepares food and drink. The Atayal household is thus a productive community based on the division of labor...

22: Wiedfeldt--35 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 592, 425 Atayal

The Atayal household subsists on the complementary labors of man and woman on a piece of arable land of about 70 are. [MC: one are. = 0.2471 acre or 100 square meters] There is no lack of land for the family. Therefore it has no market value for them, but it does have one for the clan, as is shown by the prices which the clan pays, when it can get a piece of land under favorable circumstances, which is rarely.

22: Wiedfeldt--39-40 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 43, 464, 592 Atayal

In spite of lack of good management, one may speak of an integrated Atayal economy, which, for all its crudity, corresponds to the economic ideal of complete self-sufficiency ...Atayal economy has a certain technical equipment, and recognizes real economic labor. It has values and prices; it has currency; and it has marketable wares for which there is supply and demand. [40] It consists of many uniform and individual domestic economies, which are based on the complementary labors of the men and women of the family, and in which a lack of labor is met by a money payment to the household. There is no such thing as supporting a family by labor brought in from outside.

22: Wiedfeldt--40 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 45, 433, 463, 592 Atayal

Atayal economy has developed only one special profession, for the exercise of which there is always a market and which is paid in wages. With this one exception, the families provide for all of their needs themselves, on their own fields, which are theirs as long as they use them. The size of the fields is just large enough to support the family and to keep the family supply of labor occupied. Everything that has to do with profits is lacking, such as the production and sale of surpluses, competition, ground-rent, interest, and employers' profits, as well as all the more important phases and ramifications of economy, from communications to capital and credit.

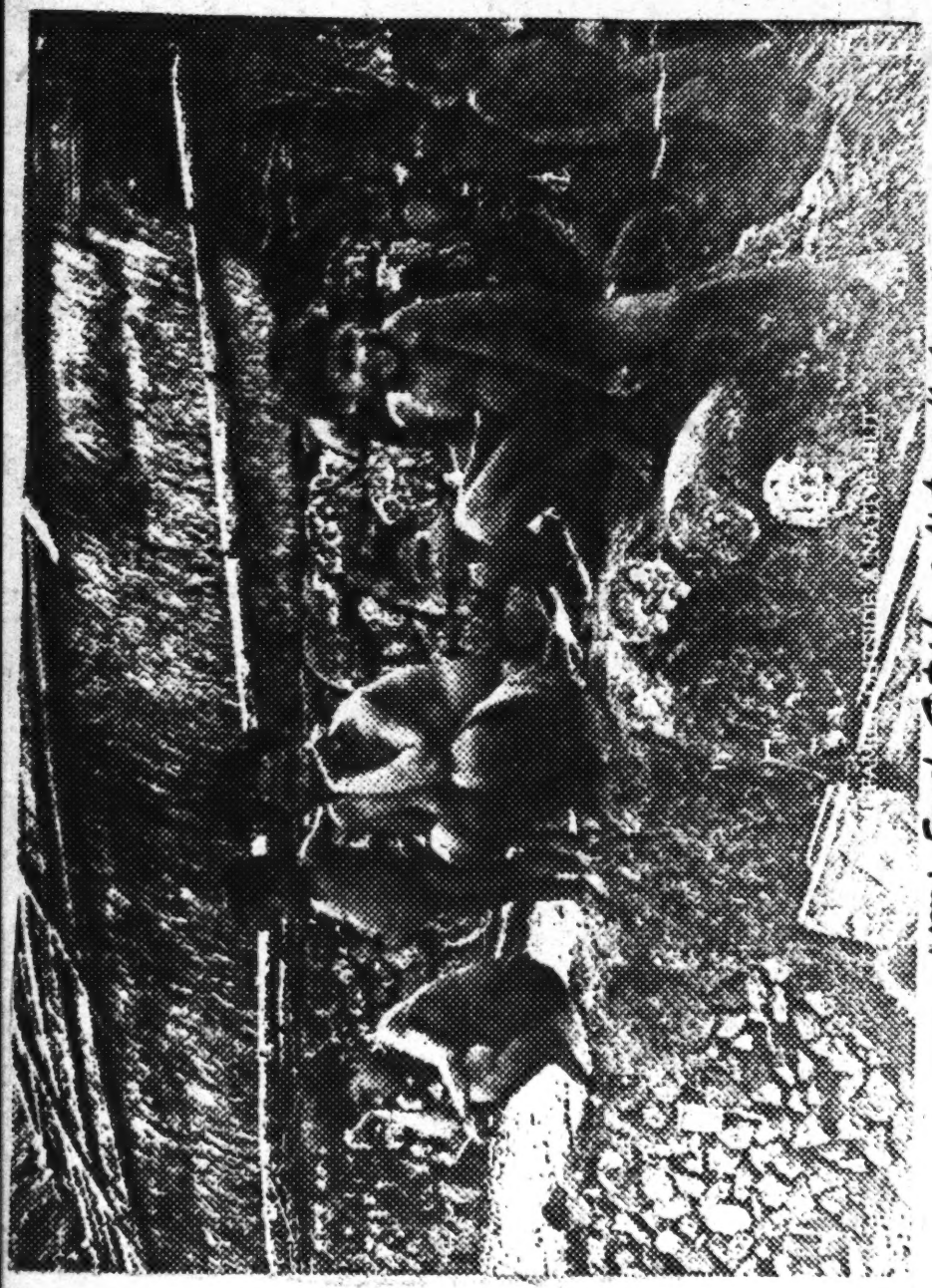
22: Wiedfeldt--46-47 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 464, 476, 592 Atayal

Measured by the standards of our present conditions, the Atayals lack the social relationship between employer and labor which has come into being by means of the labor contract, and by means of which the worker places his labor at the disposal of the employer in return for compensation. The Atayals know nothing about bringing outside labor in to help in their own households, nor do they understand the principle of mutual aid between neighbors... They only know how to manage with the labor supplied by the members of their own families and they increase the membership of the family if the need arises. The association of several clans for the purpose of hunting or fishing, and the [47] equal division of the booty among all can not be regarded as the beginning of the social institution of joint production, for there is no integration of labor. It may rather be regarded as a kind of economic union, and considered from this point of view, it would emphasize the difference between the poverty of Atayal life and the great number of economic organizations and unions that characterize our times.

31: Hofmann--623 [3] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 609, 301, 592, 837 Tsou

Members of the Tsou tribe are monogamous; adultery on the part of the woman does not occur at all. The women are very shy; they do not look strangers in the face, and they go about with their eyes downcast. Some of them wear garments made of cloth from China, others weave their own garments on primitive looms. I saw few women who were wearing ornaments; the men here are far more vain than the women.

34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Yami



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Yami Family Outside a Native Hut

37: Steere--308 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 342, 352, 592 Chin-hoan

"They are good hunters, and I saw several bear's skulls among them, and many of deer and wild boar. They generally hunt in bands, and surround their game. Their houses are made by digging a little below the surface of the ground, and then building up heavy stone walls to a height of two or three feet, in which are planted upright posts, and limbs and trunks of trees are interwoven among these to the proper height, and then all is covered with grass. There are no windows, the low door serving for the entrance of light, and an outlet for smoke. One house generally serves for two families, a fire being built at each end, and a couple of low banks of bamboo that serve for seats and beds."

37: Steere--310 [3] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 592, 311, 427 Chin-hoan

"Their houses are large, grass-covered barracks, made of bamboos and wattles, daubed with mud. The roof is supported by a large central post, and to this are hung the firelocks, bows and arrows, etc., that belong to the four or five families that occupy the house in common. The locality of each family is shown by the fire burning on the ground, and by the low bank of bamboo that serves for a seat and bed. The lands about the lake are rich and easily irrigated, and well fitted for rice; but the Tsui-whan have allowed the Chinese to enter, and these, taking advantage of the savage love for strong drink and feasting, are fast gaining possession of all the lands, and the poor Tsui-whan are becoming serfs of the crafty Chinese."

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal AD4

məqalaqa Village." On the slope north of Ho-ti Village there is a village of 10 households, 62 persons, which is generally referred to as *saβulok* or *tsaβulok*. According to Y. Sayama, *saβulok* was originally one of the "eight villages of the Wen-shui Fan", and was formed by joining the village of *sayata*, later on it was annexed by *saxeʔan*; but we found that the inhabitants of *saβulok* today belong to the village of *paqali*. On the slope east of Ho-ti Village there are 5 households, generally called *taojan*, this name has been found in Mori's book, and today, the people form a part of *tapilas*. Sayama stated that *taojan* was originally one of the "eight-villages of the Wen-shui Fan" but was annexed early by *tapilas*. Mori stated that *tapilas* had subordinated *maqao*, which Sayama called *maʔao*, another one of the "eight villages of the Wen-shui Fan". *The Investigation Report on Formosan Aborigines* records that *maʔoa* was annexed by *tapilas* in 1928. In the present investigation, the following account had been given by the vice-chief of *tapilas*: The people of *maqao* originally lived around *ulai*, but now none of them can be found there." The present *tapilas* consists of two *camil* (the term *camil* will be explained later). One is *tapilas*, its meaning is not known; the other is *meililax*, it is the native name of the Wen-shui River. The *tapilas* originally lived in the valley 10 km. west to Hu-shan. In time when the informant's grandfather *taimo-laʔon* was the chief, the Japanese government had coerced the *tapilas* to move to Hu-shan which is situated on the bank of the Wen-shui River, and appointed *qaiho-βawan*, the grandfather of Chief *βujoŋ-tolai*, to be the chief, and *taimo-laʔoŋ* to be the vice-chief." So, the present Chin-shui Ts'un consists of the people from *tapilas*, *paqali*, *loxqax* or *saxeʔan*, as well as *jaβaŋan* or *məqalaqa*.

II. KIN GROUPS

The Kin group forms the nucleus of all kinds of Atayal social organization. The *tapilas* Atayal have four kinds of kin groups. The following description is summarized from the information which was given by *joqex-etex* and *βujoŋ-tolai*:

1. *βaβuʔan*

It is the fundamental unit to found an *alaŋ* or a *qalaŋ* (village). *βaβuʔan* may be defined as family. A "family" comes into being with the marriage of a mating pair. Atayal marriage is strictly monogamous. One always leaves one's "family of orientation" and erects a new house and forms one's "family of procreation" which is called *otox* or *qotox βaβuʔan* by the Atayal, after he is married. Therefore, a "family" generally includes a married couple and their offsprings. But Atayal *βaβuʔan* is different from that of the so called nuclear family of the western civilization which consists of only kins of two generations. In the Atayal, the only son or the youngest son of the family always remains in his parent's family even after he is married. So, it may consist of kins of three generations, and may be an extended family. In some occasions, if the condition of the house is favourable, the eldest or second son may also remain in the house after he is married. If the only son or the youngest son is disliked by

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 ADI Formosa
Formosan Aborigines A.I
Atayal AD4

his parents, or if the daughter-in-law does not live harmoniously and affably with her parent-in-laws, the newly married couple may move out and live by themselves. In some cases, the parents may choose to live with their eldest or second son and not necessarily with the youngest, though this may be an exception. Therefore *βaβu²an* is a kind of limited extended family or "compromise family". 592

If a family has only a daughter and no son, or though it has a son who is disliked by the parents, the daughter may remain in her parents's family and the residential system will be matrilocal, that is, her husband will come to live with her and her parents. [591]

After the deaths of the parents, the elder brother has to take up the responsibility for taking care of his unmarried younger siblings, so they may come to live with their elder brother. A widowed sister, widowed sister-in-law, parentless nephew or niece may also depend upon the *otox βaβu²an*. Divorce and remarriage are frequent. The family with remarried spouse may have half-siblings.

2. *sali²*

sali² is a kin group larger than a *βaβu²an*. *sali²* originally also means "family". In *tapilas*, *sali²* refers to two kinds of organization: in its narrow sense, *sali²* means "family", in its broader sense, "consanguinity".

(1) *sali²* in its narrow sense: A man, as stated above, usually establishes a new *βaβu²an* after he is married. But his new house is always erected close to or sometimes adjacent to his parents'. Thus it may be regarded as an extension of the parents' house. This kind of kin group, which includes par ts' and their offsprings' households, is called *otox* or *qotox sali²*. It is clear then that a *sali²*, though it resembles a family, is not always merely one "family", it may be defined as "kindred", as the term has been employed by W. H. R. Rivers. 596 612

(2) *sali²* in its broader sense: On paternal side, *sali²* consists of lineal ascendants up to third generation and collaterals including tertiary relatives. In other words, it is a group of agnates who share a common grand-grand-father, this group thus includes the brothers and sisters of the grand-father and their offsprings. The Atayal term for this group of kinsmen is *otox* or *qotox jaβa naqo jotas ta*, which literally means "of the same grandfather of father". On maternal side, *sali²* consists of mother's father, mother's brother, and one's maternal cousins. In other words, it is a group of maternal agnates who share a common mother's father, this group thus includes mother's brothers, sisters, and their offsprings. The Atayal term for this group is *otox* or *qotox jaβa naqo jaja miam*, which literally means "of the same mother's father". Members of the same *sali²* are cognates to each other, so *sali²* may be translated as "consanguinities". Marriage is prohibited between members of the same generation within the *sali²*. Therefore a *sali²* is also a patrilineal bilateral type exogamous group. 613

3. *cəlo* and *caca*

A consanguineous group larger than a *sali²* is called a *cəlo* or *caca*. *cəlo* means 621